12 Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Records of the historian) 2/8/341.

13 Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu* (Old history of the Tang dynasty) 2/21. The compilers of *Xin Tangshu* (New history of the Tang dynasty) apparently felt uncomfortable enough about this detail to have deleted it from their version of "Taizong benji" (Basic annals of Tang Taizong) (Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu* 2/23).

14 Luo Guanzhong, *Sui Tang liangchao shizhuan* (A chronological narrative of the Sui and Tang dynasties) 9/141; Yuan Yuling, *Suishi yiwen* (The forgotten tales of the Sui dynasty) 4/34.

15 Tuotuo et al., *Songshi* (Song history) 4/53.

16 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 5/27.

17 Qian Bocheng et al., *Quan Ming wen* (Complete Ming writings) 1/177–179.

18 Qian Bocheng et al., *Quan Ming wen* 1/810–813.

19 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 6/32–33.

20 *Ming Taizu shilu* 1/2b-3b.

21 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 16/86.

22 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 19/212.

23 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 16/84.

24 *Ming Taizu shilu* 4/1a; the account in "Taizu benji" (Basic annals of Ming Taizu) in *Mingshi* is very similar, apparently based on that in *Ming Taizu shilu*; see *Mingshi* 1/1/5.

25 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 39/212.

26 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 40/219; see also the biography of Chen Youliang in *Mingshi* 12/123/3690.

27 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 68/382–83.

28 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 9/49.

29 *Mingshi* 12/127/3769.

30 *Mingshi* 1/1/56.

31 Chen Wenxin, *Yinglie zhuan: Lishi xiang gushi qingxie*, 222–226; Hok-lam Chan, "Liu Chi (1131–74) and his models," 51–53. For discussions of the conventional image of an enlightened future emperor in traditional Chinese fiction, see Ji Dejun, *Ming Qing lishi yanyi xiaoshuo yishu lun* (The art of the historical novels of the Ming and Qing dynasties), 219–33.

32 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 40/222–23. (Editor's note: for the historical Taizu's policies on Buddhism, see chap. 3 in this volume.)

33 Guo Xun, *Yinglie zhuan* 78/447–48; emphasis mine.

34 *Mingshi* 12/128/3787.

35 Zhao Yi, *Nian'er shi zhaji jiaozheng*, 836.

CHAPTER NINE

THE SOVEREIGN AND THE THEATER: *Reconsidering the Impact of Ming Taizu's Prohibitions*

TIAN YUAN TAN

Ming Taizu is often regarded as one of the most powerful and hegemonic emperors in Chinese history. Many believe his influence extended well beyond the political sphere and could be felt in multiple areas of Chinese society. The realm of Chinese theater is no exception.

Taizu held a dual attitude towards Chinese theater.[1] On the one hand, he was aware of the entertainment value of theater for himself and the court, and also the educative value of certain plays for the propagation of conventional morality.[2] On the other hand, and more saliently, Taizu was wary of the subversive potential of the theater, and took several measures to curb its influence. For example, Taizu banned actors and their families from taking part in the imperial civil service examinations. In addition, he ruled that any officers or soldiers in the capital who learned singing should have their tongues cut out. One account even states that Taizu banned songs and dances altogether.[3]

Scholars have believed that these actions by Taizu robbed actors of the opportunity for social advancement, and Chinese theater of its vitality and ability to develop in the early Ming period.[4]

Is this common assumption about Taizu's power and influence on Chinese theater justifiable? In this paper, I will question this as-

sumption by reconsidering the effects of one specific prohibition: on *jiatou zaju*, a subgenre of Chinese drama that involves the role of an emperor. Taizu's ban on this kind of drama has led to a general belief that impersonations of the emperor on stage were effectively outlawed. Was the prohibition indeed effective? Should we assume that it was strictly carried out, and that most *jiatou zaju* were banned or destroyed as a result? Was Taizu indeed so powerful that his prohibition would have made such an impact on Chinese theater?

To put Taizu's prohibition in perspective, we should note that portraying the emperor on stage was not at all uncommon in the Yuan period. This can be gathered from the fact that the emperor role, designated by the term *jiatou*, is one of the customary role types in Yuan drama. According to *The Green Bower Collection* (*Qinglou ji*), a valuable collection of short biographical notes on performers in the Yuan dynasty compiled around 1364, *jiatou* is one of the extra roles (*waijiao*) in *zaju*, a role played alongside the female and male lead roles, *dan* (female) and *mo* (male):

> [The extra role types] include the *jiatou*, the beauty pining in her boudoir, the bawd, the coquettish young girl, the high official, the poor person, the brigand, the government servant, and those [roles involved in plays] concerning immortality and Daoist deliverance, and family matters.[5]

The term "*jiatou*" originally referred to the throne that an old eunuch would carry in front of the emperor's carriage on an imperial tour of inspection,[6] and the term "*jiatou zaju*" came to refer to all plays that included the role of an emperor.[7] The *jiatou zaju* make up an important subgenre in the Yuan dramatic repertoire.[8] According to *The Green Bower Collection*, there were even a number of professional actresses who specialized in the performance of these *jiatou zaju* in the Yuan period:

> "Pearled Curtain Beauty"[9]: [Her performance of] *zaju* stands by itself today; [whether it is] the *jiatou*, the coquettish young girl, or the "soft" male lead, [she] always creates beauty out of the role.[10]
>
> "Timely Beauty": [Her performance of] *zaju* is most excellent in playing the beauty pining in her boudoir. [As for] the *jiatou* and the various *dan* roles, [her performance] is equally proper.[11]
>
> "The Southern Spring Joy": Excels in *jiatou zaju*; [she is] also a leading actress in the Capital.[12]

> "Natural Beauty": For *zaju* about a beauty pining in her boudoir, [she was] the best actress during her times. [Her impersonation of] a coquettish young girl or *jiatou* also reached the highest beauty.[13]

Cross-dressing was very common in Yuan drama, and the majority of *zaju* performers were females who could play various kinds of male roles, including the emperor, on stage. The performance of *jiatou zaju* appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity in the Yuan dynasty.

The heyday of *jiatou zaju*, however, appeared to be over in the early Ming as they were outlawed, and impersonations of the emperor on stage were prohibited. There were various reasons for the prohibitions. As recorded in the (*Imperially-issued*) *Great Ming Code* (*Yuzhi Da Ming lü*) of 1397,

> In all cases of theatrical performances, actors shall not be permitted to dress up as former emperors, empresses, or other imperial consorts, loyal ministers, martyrs, sages, or worthies. Any violations shall be punished by 100 strokes of beating with the heavy stick. If the households of officials or commoners allow them to dress up this way for performances, the penalty shall be the same. As for acting as immortals, righteous husbands, chaste wives, filial sons, or obedient grandsons with the aim of motivating others to be good, it shall not be prohibited.[14]

An example of Taizu's dual attitude towards theater, this statute gave clear instructions on what kinds of plays (those that "exhort people to good action") were acceptable, and what were not. Scholars have suggested that one possible reason for making such a prohibition is that it was disrespectful to Taizu and the whole imperial order to have lowly actors and courtesans impersonating emperors and sages.[15] Indeed, in the Wanli edition of the *Great Ming Code*, the first prohibition is accompanied by explanation:

> The emperor, the king, the empress and the imperial concubines of all eras, the loyal minister and the ardent man of valor, and the divine images of the ancient sages and the ancient worthies are characters whom the officials and the common people should all look up to with reverence, and [therefore] to impersonate them in performing *zaju* is most contemptible.[16]

In addition, as Wilt Idema has suggested, the plebeian origins of Ming Taizu, and the similarities between his doings and some of the situations staged in these plays, may have led to the prohibition.[17]

The *Great Ming Code* was repeatedly reprinted in the later reign periods of the Ming dynasty, so this prohibition was always part of Ming law, and was also repeatedly applied in the Qing dynasty.[18] Furthermore, about fourteen years after Taizu's prohibition, in 1411, the Yongle emperor followed and exceeded his father's example, issuing a more specified and stricter proclamation. Not only were impersonations of the emperor on stage prohibited, but the texts of these *jiatou zaju* were also not allowed to be kept, circulated, or printed for sale.[19]

As we have seen, these prohibitions by Taizu and his successors were sweeping in their aim to ban all impersonations of the emperor and other sagely figures on stage. Some scholars believe that the prohibitions were indeed very effective.[20] The fact that the prohibitions are also often cited in histories of Chinese drama also shows that many believed in their impact on its development.[21] Previous studies have pointed out that prohibitions may have affected the development of *jiatou zaju*.[22] But in fact, we lack direct sources on the impact of the prohibitions. How can we determine their effect on the *jiatou zaju*?

One way to do so is to compare different editions of the same *jiatou zaju* before and after the prohibitions to see if any changes were made. But of the 700 known titles from the Yuan period, only some 160 *zaju* have come down to us in one form or another, and only thirty of these plays have been preserved in a Yuan-period printing.[23] Most extant Yuan plays survive in only late Ming editions, which scholars believe all originally derived from copies once kept in the imperial palace.[24] Since the editions may have been altered by censors or literati editors in the Ming, they can only represent the state of the texts under the prohibitions, not before. Of the thirty extant Yuan editions of *zaju*, fourteen include the role type "*jia*," a term commonly used to designate the emperor role on stage.[25] To understand how emperors were represented on the stage before the Ming prohibitions, I have compared the Yuan and Ming editions of these fourteen *jiatou zaju*, looking for changes or evidence of censorship related to the staging of the role of the emperor. This comparison should reveal something of the actual impact of the early Ming prohibitions on *jiatou zaju*.[26]

The fourteen Yuan-edition *zaju* plays that stage the emperor are as follows:

Table 1: Titles of Yuan edition zaju featuring the jia (emperor)

1. Guan Hanqing, *Guan daiwang dandao hui*; short title *Dandao hui* (*Lord Guan Goes to the Feast with a Single Sabre*)
2. Gao Wenxiu, *Haojiu Zhao Yuan yu Shanghuang*; short title *Yu Shanghuang* (*Wine-craving Zhao Yuan Meets the Prior Emperor*)
3. Ma Zhiyuan, *Taihua shan Chen Tuan gaowo*; short title *Chen Tuan gaowo* (*At Taihua Mountain, Chen Tuan Rests on High*)
4. Shang Zhongxian, *Yuchi Gong sanduo shuo*; short title *Sanduo shuo* (*Yuchi Gong Thrice Seizes the Lance*)
5. Shang Zhongxian, *Han Gaohuang zhuozu qi Ying Bu*; short title *Qi Ying Bu* (*Gaohuang of the Han Washes His Feet and Thereby Enrages Ying Bu*)
6. Zhang Guobin, *Xue Rengui yijin huanxiang*; short title *Yijin huanxiang* (*Xue Rengui, Clad in Brocade, Returns to His Home Village*)
7. Wang Bocheng, *Li Taibai bian Yelang*; short title *Bian Yelang* (*Li Taibai is Banished to Yelang*)
8. Di Junhou, *Jin Wengong huoshao Jie Zitui*; short title *Jie Zitui* (*Duke Wen of Jin Cremates Jie Zitui*)
9. Kong Xueshi, *Dizangwang zheng dongchuang shi fan*; short title *Dongchuang shi fan* (*Dizangwang Testifies to the Running Afoul of the Affair of the Eastern Window*)
10. Yang Zi, *Chengming dian Huo Guang guijian*; short title *Huo Guang guijian* (*Huo Guang Remonstrates as a Ghost at the Chengming Hall*)
11. Gong Tianting, *Sisheng jiao Fan Zhang ji shu*; short title *Fan Zhang ji shu* (*Friends in Life and Death: Fan Shi and Zhang Shao, Chicken and Millet*)
12. Zheng Guangzu, *Fu Chengwang Zhougong shezheng*; short title *Zhougong shezheng* (*In Aid of King Cheng, the Duke of Zhou Acts as Regent*)
13. Jin Renjie, *Xiao He yueye zhui Han Xin*; short title *Zhui Han Xin* (*Xiao He Pursues Han Xin During a Moonlit Night*)
14. Anonymous, *Zhuge Liang Bowang shaotun*; short title *Bowang shaotun* (*Zhuge Liang Burns the Encampment at Bowang*)[27]

For the purposes of the following discussion, I have divided these fourteen *jiatou zaju* into four different groups. Only eight of the fourteen plays survive in both Yuan and Ming editions. These eight can be divided into three different groups, A, B and C, according to the changes made to the "*jia*" (emperor) role in their Ming editions. Case A (four plays) includes plays in which the *jia* has been removed, while Case B (two plays) consists of works in which the *jia* role has been renamed. In Case C (two plays) , the *jia* role remained unchanged. The other six *jiatou zaju,* Case D, survive only in Yuan editions. In what follows, the plays will be referred to by these numbers and their English titles.

CASE A: THE EASY WAY OUT

In four of the *jiatou zaju*, the emperor was removed from the Ming editions in different ways. Previous studies of individual plays have pointed out that because of the prohibitions, changes needed to be made to these *jiatou zaju* so that they could still be performed.[28] In some cases, the *jia* did not play a major part and could be easily written out. After the *jia* was removed, his lines could be taken by a minister or a eunuch.[29] For example, the Yuan edition of #1, *Lord Guan Goes to the Feast with a Single Sabre*, begins with the following stage direction:

> [*Jia, accompanied by his entourage, opens the play and stops.*] [*The secondary male role (waimo) playing the role of Lu Su, enters, presents a memorial, stops and speaks.*] [*Jia speaks.*] [*Lu Su speaks and stops.*] [*The male lead (zhengmo) playing the role of Senior Minister Qiao enters and stops.*] [*Lu Su speaks.*] [*[Minister Qiao] ponders and speaks*] The tripartition [of the empire between the kingdoms of Wei, Shu, and Wu] has now been settled. I fear that further warfare would bring suffering to the people. You ministers should give the king your advice. [*[Minister Qiao] moves over and pays obeisance*] [*Jia speaks*] [*[Minister Qiao] speaks*] May your Majesty live a myriad years! In my humble opinion, we must not take back Jingzhou. [*Jia speaks again.*] [*[Minister Qiao] speaks*] We must not! We must not![30]

The *jia*, here impersonating Sun Quan, only appears in the opening scene, when Lu Su, Minister of the Kingdom of Wu, presents to him a memorial, which demands that Guan Yu return Jingzhou. The dialogue of the *jia* is not included in the Yuan edition, a common practice for the dialogues of minor characters. Sun appears to have agreed to Lu's suggestion, only to have Senior Minister Qiao enter and try to stop this plan.[31]

As the *jia* only appears in this opening scene, it was not difficult for the Ming editors to write him out. In the Ming edition, the play commences with the entrance of Lu Su, who is now played as another secondary male role (*chongmo*).

> [Lu Su enters and speaks]... I now wish to take back Jingzhou, but I suppose with Lord Guan as the governor there, he would not return it to us. Now, I send General Huang Wen to present to our king a memorial proposing three plans...[32]

Lu simply explains that he has sent a memorial to his master Sun Quan and reported to him about his scheme.[33] This change allows the role of the *jia* (Sun Quan) to be removed from the play.[34]

A related adjustment can be observed in the "title" (*timu*) of the two editions of this play:

> *Yuan edition*:
> Senior Minister Qiao remonstrates with the Emperor of Wu;
> Sima Hui resigns from his official post.[35]
>
> *Ming edition*:
> Sun Zhong plans to monopolize the Jiangdong region;
> [Lu Su] invites Mr. Qiao to discuss the three schemes.[36]

As Sun Quan no longer makes an appearance in the Ming edition, Senior Minister Qiao cannot remonstrate with him directly as in the Yuan edition. Therefore, a change has been made to the "title": we are now simply informed by Lu Su of Sun's plan to monopolize the Jiangdong region, and are shown Lu discussing with Qiao his three schemes to force Guan Yu to return Jingzhou.[37]

Similarly, we find that the *jia* featured in the opening scenes of the Yuan editions of two other plays, #11, *Friends in Life and Death*, and #4, *Yuchi Gong Thrice Seizes the Lance,* were removed in the Ming editions.[38] For example, as in the case of *Lord Guan Goes to the Feast with a Single Sabre*, in the Yuan edition of *Yuchi Gong Thrice Seizes the Lance*, the *jia*, Emperor Gaozu of the Tang Dynasty (r.618–627), was actually remonstrated with on stage by an official, Liu Wenjing, in Act One,[39] but the *jia* role was removed from the play in the Ming-period collection *Anthology of Yuan Plays* (*Yuanqu xuan*).[40]

If the *jia* only makes a brief appearance in the opening scene, removing the emperor is relatively easy. When the *jia* is involved in the entire plot, it is harder. A good example is #6, *Xue Rengui, Clad in Brocade, Returns to His Home Village*, which was rewritten in the Ming dynasty under the title of *Xue Rengui Returns in Glory to his Native Village* (*Xue Rengui ronggui guli*) and included in the *Anthology of Yuan Plays*.[41] In the Yuan edition, Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty is featured throughout the short prologue known as a "wedge" (*xiezi*)[42] and the first three acts. In Act One, he personally supervises a shooting match between the soldier Xue Rengui and his commanding officer Zhang Shigui, an imposter who has falsely laid claim to most of Xue's military feats.[43] Xue Rengui wins the shooting match and proves himself to be the real hero. He is appointed to higher rank, and is later featured as the son-in-law of the emperor in Act Four.[44]

However, in the Ming edition of the play, the task of supervising the shooting match has passed to the army supervisor Xu Maogong.[45] In addition, Xue Rengui now marries the daughter of Xu, instead of the daughter of the emperor. In other words, Xu Maogong is used to perform some of the tasks originally carried out by the emperor. This is perhaps most clearly summarized in the changes in the "title" and "name" (*zhengming*) of the two editions. (The "title" and the "name" are conventional features of Yuan *zaju* drama, usually placed at the end of a play to summarize its plot.) While the "name" of the Yuan edition stresses how Emperor Taizong welcomed the virtuous and took in scholars, the "title" of the *Anthology of Yuan Plays* edition has shifted the focus to Xu Maogong supervising the shooting match at the main gate.[46]

In the four *jiatou zaju* discussed in this section, the emperor role has been removed from the Ming editions of the plays. If we believe that the prohibitions were strict and effective, then we may expect that all *jiatou zaju* shared a similar fate, undergoing rewriting or heavy editing to make them more acceptable to the Ming court. However, we will see that this is not the case, and that the whole situation is far more complicated. The next two sets of plays, cases B and C, demonstrate how the role of the emperor continued to find its way into the Ming editions of some other *jiatou zaju*.

CASE B: A QUICK-CHANGE ACT

In the two plays making up Case B, the *jia* in the Yuan editions was renamed as another role type in the later Ming editions. One play about the story of the Three Kingdoms entitled *Zhuge Liang Burns the Encampment at Bowang* (#14) is unique. It is the only one of the fourteen Yuan *jiatou zaju* with a Ming edition that came directly from the imperial archives (*neifu*) and that contains a detailed costume list (*chuan'guan*). While previous scholars have shown that the great majority of the late Ming editions of Yuan drama originate from the copies held at the imperial palace, this clear example of a Ming text of a drama actually performed, or at least prepared for performance, in the palace provides important information about what was acceptable at court. We shall see that the censors might not have been that strict after all. There were rules and prohibitions, but there were also ways to get around the rules quite easily.

In this play, the main character is Zhuge Liang, who is played by the generic male role (*mo*) and the main male lead (*zhengmo*), respectively, in the Yuan and Ming editions. Zhuge Liang is the wise statesman and advisor of Liu Bei. Yuan and Ming *zaju* writers followed the lead of the Song Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi in considering Liu Bei the legitimate heir to the Han throne.[47] Liu Bei is only a secondary character, and from the stage directions in the Yuan edition his role type is unclear. In the Yuan edition, he is interchangeably designated as "Liu Bei," "Liu" and "*huangshu*" (Emperor's uncle) throughout the whole play. Only in the final stage direction is Liu Bei designated as *jia*: "Emperor (*jia*) makes a judgment."[48] Considerable changes were made in the Ming edition: the stage directions clearly state that Liu is played as the secondary male role (*chongmo*),[49] and the character's variety of designations are standardized as "the male role Liu" (*Liumo*). The final stage direction omits the term *jia* to simply read "male role (*mo*) Liu makes a judgment."[50]

Censors at the Ming court insisted on inspecting the complete text of each play before its performance.[51] They might have found it difficult to remove the character Liu Bei completely from this play, but such a play could apparently still be considered acceptable as long as all the designations that might be related to the emperor, such as *jia* or *huangshu*, were replaced by other, neutral designations, such as

"the male role Liu." Some *jiatou zaju* editors worked around the rules of prohibition quite easily, simply by renaming the "*jia*" as another role type.

Another *jiatou zaju* that continues to portray the emperor, but under a different role name, is #5, *Gaohuang of the Han Washes His Feet and Thereby Enrages Ying Bu*.[52] This play is part of a larger group of around thirty Yuan plays that deal with the founding of the Han dynasty, which was once a very popular theme in dramatic literature. Because of their extremely negative characterization of the imperial protagonists, most of these plays were not passed down in later times; only *Gaohuang of the Han Enrages Ying Bu* is preserved in the Ming-period *Anthology of Yuan Plays*.[53] Liu Bang, the founder of the Han dynasty, who is designated as a *jia* role in the Yuan edition of the play, is consistently referred to only as "the King of Han" (*Hanwang*) in the *Anthology of Yuan Plays* edition and no longer as the emperor (*jia*).[54] While it may appear that the portrayal of the emperor could be avoided this way, I suspect that such changes to the designation of *jia* were chiefly aimed at the censors, who would review the text rather than the performance of the play. This is because while on paper Liu Bang is changed from the "*jia*" to "the King of Han," the difference it makes in performance might indeed be quite minimal.

The replacement of the "*jia*" by other role types in these two plays can hardly be regarded as a strong supporting evidence for the effectiveness of the prohibitions. Rather, it suggests that one could easily get around these prohibitions simply by renaming the *jia*, without making any substantive changes. This was so even for a play that was destined for performance in the imperial palace. The following case raises even more questions as to whether the prohibitions were effective.

CASE C: BUSINESS AS USUAL

We have seen that the prohibitions might have brought about some changes in the Ming editions of the Yuan *jiatou zaju*. But there are also cases in which the texts seem completely unaffected by the prohibitions. Two of the *jiatou zaju* actually retain the role *jia* in their Ming editions.

Wine-craving Zhao Yuan Meets the Prior Emperor (#2), in its Yuan edition, has the *jia* Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty making his first entrance in Act Two.[55] Emperor Huizong leaves the palace with two of his followers to drink at a tavern, but they forget to bring any money, and get into a fight with the tavern bouncers. Zhao Yuan comes to their rescue and settles the bill, whereupon the emperor suggests that they become sworn brothers. Later, when Zhao Yuan, set up by a governor who had an illicit relationship with Zhao's wife, is to be punished for his late delivery of an official letter, the emperor not only pardons Zhao Yuan, but also sees that justice is done by punishing both the governor and Zhao's wife. The main plot of the story remains unchanged in the Ming edition of the play, and the *jia* role is retained, but the emperor portrayed is now the Song dynastic founder Zhao Kuangyin.

The entrance of the Emperor onto the stage is prominent in the Ming edition of *Wine-craving Zhao*, which includes full prose dialogues. Emperor Taizu first recites a four-line entrance verse (*shangchang shi*), then gives a self-introduction, announcing that he is the first emperor of the Song dynasty:

> I am Emperor Taizu of the Song dynasty.[56] Ever since I ascended the throne, the four seas have been quiet, and all quarters are at peace. Today, I lead my courtiers Chu Zhaofu and Shi Shouxin, the three of us dressed up as simple students, in making a private trip incognito to the rural areas.[57]

After this introduction, the action continues as in the Yuan play. If the mere appearance of an emperor on stage was taboo, imagine staging an emperor fighting with bouncers and becoming sworn brothers with someone at a tavern! Here is the utter confusion that Emperor Taizu gets into after he fails to pay up:

> [*The tavern bouncer grasps the* jia *firmly and speaks*] Pay up fast! If you don't pay up, don't think that I will let you off lightly.
>
> ...
>
> [*The main male lead (Zhao Yuan) sings*] [To the tune of "*Caicha ge*"]
> One grasps his clothes,
> And the other is dead drunk.
> Don't say that you have fallen into these shadows of flowers waiting for others to help you up.

My three Confucian scholars, don't be scared,
I will take out some copper cash to help pay your wine debt.[58]

The Emperor is held tight by the bouncer, who threatens that he will definitely not let him off easily should he still fail to pay up. From the aria then sung by Zhao Yuan, we get a vivid picture of how the Emperor and his followers later get into a chaotic fight. Comparing the arias in the two editions, Zheng Qian noticed a minor alteration in the aria quoted above, from a "bloody confusion" (*xue mohu*) in the Yuan edition to a "drunken confusion" (*zui mohu*) in the Ming edition.[59] While this may tone down the degree of commotion involved, it is difficult to deny that these scenes would have still remained very unpleasing to Ming royalty concerned about their dignity. If we assume that the staging of the role of the emperor had already been effectively banned, how could this drama have been staged?

Song founder Zhao Kuangyin also continues to feature as *jia* in the Ming editions of another play, #3, *At Taihua Mountain, Chen Tuan Rests on High*.[60] The appearances of the *jia* are largely concentrated in Act Three, where the Song emperor tries to persuade Chen Tuan to become an official. While scholars have speculated that the Ming editions of this play may have been edited and rewritten by literati in the Ming court to make it more suitable for performance before emperors,[61] any such rewriting did not eliminate the portrayal of the emperor on stage.

These examples force us to reconsider the effects of the prohibitions: were all portrayals of the emperor banned, or were some of them perhaps more "acceptable"? To summarize, the eight *jiatou zaju* passed down in Ming editions, cases A, B, and C, underwent different degrees of change. On the one hand, there are examples in which the *jia* was clearly removed in the Ming editions, which seems to suggest that the prohibitions were effective. On the other hand, however, there are also other dramas that appear to have been unaffected by the prohibitions. The *jia* continued to appear in some Ming editions. This cast serious doubt on the idea that the prohibitions were strictly and consistently honored. With this in mind, how should we deal with the final group of *jiatou zaju*, which I classify as Case D?

CASE D: EVIDENCE OR CIRCUMSTANCE?

As we have seen, not all fourteen *jiatou zaju* survive in later Ming editions. Case D comprises the six *jiatou zaju* that were not passed down in Ming editions and survive only in their Yuan printings: *Li Taibai is Banished to Yelang* (#7), *Duke Wen of Jin Cremates Jie Zitui* (#8), *Dizangwang Testifies to the Running Afoul of the Affair of the Eastern Window* (#9), *Huo Guang Remonstrates as a Ghost at the Chengming Hall* (#10), *In Aid of King Cheng, the Duke of Zhou Acts as Regent* (#12), and *Xiao He Pursues Han Xin During a Moonlit Night* (#13). Previously, scholars, believing that the prohibitions had been effective, have suggested that these *jiatou zaju* were not passed down precisely because of their negative portrayal of emperors. One example is *Huo Guang Remonstrates as a Ghost*.[62] In the first act of this play, the powerful Han minister Huo Guang explicitly denounces the undesirable behavior of the Emperor whom Huo Guang had himself set on the throne only a month earlier; he then deposes and replaces his sovereign.[63] Such plays might have been left out when plays were collected in the early Ming dynasty.[64]

But since certain dramas still managed to continue portraying the emperor after the prohibitions, we can not logically assume that these other *jiatou zaju* were effectively outlawed and even destroyed as a result of the prohibitions. Furthermore, other Ming sources reveal that the texts of these plays might not have been "lost" during the Ming period after all. First, we may turn to the *Yongle Encyclopedia* (*Yongle dadian*), which was compiled around 1403 to 1408 with the aim of including all existing literature. Although the portions of the *Yongle Encyclopedia* on *zaju* drama are now lost, its catalog reveals that several plays that scholars now consider to have been prohibited were included, such as #10 *Huo Guang Remonstrates as a Ghost* (in *juan* 20738), #9 *Dizangwang Testifies to the Running Afoul of the Affair of the Eastern Window* (in *juan* 20744), and #7 *Li Taibai is Banished to Yelang* (in *juan* 20746).[65] Second, the *Catalog of the Baowentang Library Collection* (*Baowentang shumu*), a catalog of the books kept in the private library of a mid-Ming literatus, Chao Li (*jinshi* 1541), also lists two of these *jiatou zaju*, #12 *The Duke of Zhou Acts as Regent* and #13 *Xiao He Pursues Han Xin*, which shows that the texts of these plays still circulated during the Jiajing period (1522–1566).[66]

If indeed copies of these now-vanished *jiatou zaju* were still around during the Ming period, we can not say that they disappeared because of the prohibitions. Suppose the texts of those *zaju* in the *Yongle dadian* and the *Baowentang* catalog had survived to the present day. How would that change our understanding of the effect of the prohibitions? That is to say, is it possible that the lack of transmission of certain plays might have led us to overestimate the effectiveness of the prohibitions? We must not forget that out of the over seven hundred known titles of Yuan dynasty *zaju*, only about a hundred and sixty have been passed down to the present day.[67] The *jiatou zaju* might simply have been lost in the process of transmission, just like many other Yuan plays, and not as a result of the prohibitions.

By showing how the fourteen Yuan dynasty *jiatou zaju* experienced very different fates in the Ming dynasty,[68] I suggest that it is difficult to draw a general conclusion about the impact of Ming Taizu's ban on this whole category of drama. There is very little evidence that these dramas were actually censored or destroyed. Nor do we have any records indicating that the staging of any *jiatou zaju* was prevented because of its portrayal of the emperor.[69] All of these uncertainties caution against the sweeping conclusion that the prohibitions by Taizu and his successors could account for all the disappearances and rewritings of *jiatou zaju* in the Ming dynasty.

Our common belief in Taizu's power and influence has often led us to assume that his rule and his actions had a great impact. Early Ming has been well known for its stringent laws and severe literary persecutions under the control of the mighty Taizu.[70] The literary milieu of this period has therefore often been portrayed as suffocating and lacking in vitality due to the restrictions. Some have believed that Taizu's draconian social policies were so successful that cultural life was at a nadir by the end of his rule, and the first half of the fifteenth century that followed was no more than a cultural wasteland.[71] But this case study suggests that assumptions about the effectiveness of the prohibitions by Taizu and his successors are indeed questionable in the realm of Chinese theater. If we put aside our presuppositions about Taizu's power and his impact on the literary scene, we may discover a more varied picture of literary production under the emperor's rule.

GLOSSARY

Caicha ge 採茶歌
Chao Li 晁璨
Chengming dian Huo Guang guijian 承明殿霍光鬼諫
chongmo 冲末
Chu Zhaofu 楚昭輔
chuanguan 穿關
dan 旦
Di Junhou 狄君厚
Dizangwang zheng dongchuang shi fan 地藏王證東窗事犯
Fu Chengwang Zhougong shezheng 輔成王周公攝政
Gao Wenxiu 高文秀
Gong Tianting 宮天挺
Guminjia zaju 古名家雜劇
Gu Qiyuan 顧起元
Guan Hanqing 關漢卿
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會
Guan Yu 關羽
Han Gaohuang zhuozu qi Ying Bu 漢高皇濯足氣英布
Hangong qiu 漢宮秋
Hanwang 漢王
Haojiu Zhao Yuan yu Shanghuang 好酒趙元遇上皇
He Huang 何煌
huaben 話本
huangshu 皇叔
Huo Guang 霍光
jia 駕
jiatou 駕頭
jiatou zaju 駕頭雜劇
Jin Renjie 金仁傑
Jin Wengong huoshao Jie Zitui 晉文公火燒介子推
Kezuo zhuiyu 客座贅語
Kong Xueshi 孔學詩
Li Kaixian 李開先
Li Taibai bian Yelang 李太白貶夜郎
Liumo 劉末
Liu Wenjing 劉文靜
Lu Su 魯肅
Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠
Molizhi feidao duijian 摩利支飛刀對箭
Taihua shan Chen Tuan gaowo 泰華山陳摶高臥
Mengxi bitan 夢溪筆談
mo 末
neifu 內府
Pipaji 琵琶記
Qin taishi dongchuang shi fan 秦太師東窗事犯
shangchang shi 上場詩
Shang Zhongxian 尚仲賢
Shen Kuo 沈括
Shi Shouxin 石守信
Shunshi xiu 順時秀
Sisheng jiao Fan Zhang ji shu 死生交范張雞黍
Sun Quan 孫權
Sun Zhong 孫仲
timu 題目
tiyao 提要
waijiao 外腳
waimo 外末
Wang Bocheng 王伯成
Wutong yu 梧桐雨
Xijizi 息機子
Xiao He yueye zhui Han Xin 蕭何月夜追韓信
xiezi 楔子
Xu Maogong 徐茂功
xue mohu 血模糊
Xue Rengui ronggui guli 薛仁貴榮歸故里
Xue Rengui yijin huanxiang 薛仁貴衣錦還鄉
Yang Zi 楊梓
Yongle dadian 永樂大典
Yuchi Gong 尉遲恭
Yuchi Gong danbian duoshuo 尉遲恭單鞭奪槊
Yuchi Gong sanduo shuo 尉遲恭三奪槊
Zhang Guobin 張國賓

Zhang Shigui 張士貴
Zhao Qimei 趙琦美
Zhao Yuan 趙元
Zheng Guangzu 鄭光祖
zhengming 正名
zhengmo 正末
zhengya fazuo 正衙法座
Zhuge Liang Bowang shaotun 諸葛亮博望燒屯
Zhulian xiu 珠簾秀
zui mohu 醉模糊
Zui sixiang Wang Can Denglou 醉思鄉王粲登樓
zunzi 尊子

Notes to Chapter Nine

An earlier version of this paper was published under the title "Prohibition of *Jiatou Zaju* in the Ming Dynasty and the Portrayal of the Emperor on Stage" in *Ming Studies* 49 (2005): 82–111. I would like to thank Sarah Schneewind for the opportunity to revise the paper for its inclusion in this edited volume, which allows me to reconsider the context in which later critics and scholars came to assume that the prohibition was effective.

1 For general studies on how Taizu and the other Ming emperors were associated with Chinese theater, see Iwaki, "Min no kyūtei to engeki" (The Ming imperial court and theater), 602–24, and Zeng Yongyi, "Mingdai diwang yu xiqu" (Ming emperors and theater), 1–23.

2 For example, it was said that Taizu praised the southern play *The Story of the Lute* (*Pipaji*) for its moralistic content on loyalty and filial piety, and even compared it to the Five Classics and the Four Books. See Xu Wei, *Nanci xülu* (Notes on Southern songs), 240.

3 Quoted in Wang Liqi, comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao* (Historical sources on proscribed fiction and plays during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods), 11–12.

4 See, for example, Xu Zifang, *Ming zaju shi* (A history of Ming *zaju* drama), 40, and Zeng Yongyi, "Mingdai diwang yu xiqu," 17–18.

5 Xia Tingzhi, "Qinglou ji zhi" (A note to the "Green Bower Collection"), 43. Translations in this paper are my own unless otherwise stated.

6 For a detailed study of the term "*jiatou*," see Sun Kaidi, "Yuanqu xinkao (Jiatou zaju)" (A new study of Yuan drama: *Jiatou zaju*), 332–8. One of the sources on which Sun's findings were based is an entry in Shen Kuo's *Jottings from the Mengxi* (*Mengxi bitan*), which explained *jiatou* as "the emperor's throne at the Central Palace" (*zhengya fazuo*), 333.

7 Since *jiatou* is an important insignia of an imperial tour, the modern Chinese scholar Sun Kaidi suggests that the term "*jiatou zaju*" must therefore involve at least a certain scene of the emperor going out in a carriage as found in Act Three of both *Autumn in the Palace of Han* (*Hangong qiu*) and *Rain on the Wutong Tree* (*Wutong yu*).

Sun's definition of *jiatou zaju* may represent the original meaning of this term which later acquired a more general meaning. (Sun Kaidi, "Yuanqu xinkao (Jiatou zaju)," 337.) Another scholar, Zhou Yibai, speculates that *jiatou zaju* may refer only to plays concerning the love stories between the emperor and his consort. His reasons are that performers of *jiatou zaju* often also specialized in *dan* role, and that *jiatou zaju*, such as *Autumn in the Palace of Han* and *Rain on the Wutong Tree* place considerable emphasis on the *dan* role too, which I find unpersuasive. (Zhou, *Zhongguo xiju shi* [A history of Chinese drama], 310.)

8 If we consider it from a theatrical standpoint, the term *jiatou zaju* also marks out an important category as it indicates the need for a drama troupe to have special costumes for the *jia*, and also extra minor characters to play the emperor's entourage when entering the stage.

9 The names of the actors in the *Green Bower Collection* are their stage names. For example, the family names of "Pearled Curtain Beauty" (*Zhulian xiu*) and "Timely Beauty" (*Shunshi xiu*) are Zhu and Guo respectively. See Xia Tingzhi, *Qinglou ji jianzhu*, 82, 101.

10 Xia Tingzhi, *Qinglou ji jianzhu*, 82. For this and the following entries, see also the accompanying notes and annotations by the modern editors, which provide more detailed information. For a specific study of this actress, "Pearled Curtain Beauty," see Li Xiusheng, "Yuandai zaju yanyuan Zhulian xiu" (The actress Zhulian xiu from the Yuan period), 239–43.

11 Xia Tingzhi, *Qinglou ji jianzhu*, 102.

12 Xia Tingzhi, *Qinglou ji jianzhu*, 117.

13 Xia Tingzhi, *Qinglou ji jianzhu*, 128. See also Sun Chongtao and Xu Hongtu, *Xiqu youlingshi* (A historical account of drama performers), 100.

14 Quoted in Wang Liqi, comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, 13. See also Huai Xiaofeng, coll., *Da Ming lü* (Great Ming Code), 204. English translation cited from Jiang Yonglin, trans., *The Great Ming Code*, 220–1, with minor amendments.

15 See, for example, Zhao Jingshen, Li Ping, and Jiang Jurong, "Mingdai yanju zhuangkuang de kaocha" (An investigation of the state of theater performances during the Ming period), 177.

16 See *Da Ming lü jijie fuli* (The Great Ming Code with commentaries attached by regulations) 26/14a.

17 Idema, "The Founding of the Han Dynasty in Early Drama," 198. On Zhu Yuanzhang's origins, his early career, and a comprehensive introduction to the major events during his reign, see Mote, "The Rise of the Ming Dynasty," 44–57, and Langlois, "The Hung-wu Reign."

18 See Wang Liqi, comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, 18, 34, 43.

19 Gu Qiyuan, *Kezuo zhuiyu* (Records of the guests chatting), *juan* 10, quoted in Wang Liqi, comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, 14.

20 See, for example, Zeng Yongyi, *Ming zaju gailun* (A survey of *zaju* drama during the Ming period), 75, and his "Mingdai diwang yu xiqu," 16.

21 See, for example, Xu Zifang, *Ming zaju shi*, 39; Dolby, *A History of Chinese Drama*, 77.

22 Iwaki, "Min no kyūtei to engeki," 606–608; Kim Moon Kyung, "*Genkan zatsugeki sanjisshū jozetsu*" (An introduction to "The Thirty *Zaju* Plays in Yuan Printings"),

46–75; Yao Liyun, "Mingchu *zaju* de yanjin" (The development of *zaju* plays in early Ming), 203–5; Komatsu, "Naifuhon-kei shohon kō" (An inquiry into the palace editions), esp. 133–42, also included in his *Chūgoku koten engeki kenkyū* (A study of Chinese classical drama), Part II, Chap. 1, esp. 67–76; Zeng Yongyi, "Mingdai diwang yu xiqu," 15–16; Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama: The Transformation of *Zaju* at the Ming Court," 778–82; West, "Text and Ideology," 267–71. Studies comparing the Yuan and Ming editions of individual plays are introduced below.

23 See Idema, "Traditional Dramatic Literature," in Mair, ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, 801. For a comprehensive discussion of the various editions of Yuan drama and the importance of the thirty Yuan-period printings, see also Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama."

24 Sun Kaidi, *Yeshiyuan gujin zaju kao* (A study of the "Old and Modern *Zaju* Plays" in the Yeshiyuan library collection), 149–53, esp. 152.

25 A photographic reproduction of these thirty texts, entitled *Yuankan zaju sanshizhong* (Thirty *zaju* plays in Yuan printings), is included in *Guben xiqu congkan* (A collection of old texts of classical drama), ser. 4. Three modern critical editions are now available: Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong* (Collated edition of the "Thirty *Zaju* Plays in Yuan Printings"); Xu Qinjun, coll., *Xinjiao Yuankan zaju sanshizhong* (A new collated edition of the "Thirty *Zaju* Plays in Yuan Printings"); and Ning Xiyuan, coll., *Yuankan zaju sanshizhong xinjiao* (The "Thirty *Zaju* Plays in Yuan Printings": A new collated edition).

26 While I analyze all fourteen *jiatou zaju*, I provide a more detailed examination only for those plays that have received less attention in previous studies.

27 The plays are listed in the order arranged by Zheng Qian, see his *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 1–15, 63–73, 101–13, 145–55, 157–67, 211–25, 243–58, 273–88, 289–303, 305–18, 319–36, 349–64, 365–79, 397–412.

28 I will introduce these studies in my discussion of the individual plays.

29 Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama," 778.

30 Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 1.

31 Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 1. The six occurrences where the *jia* appeared in the stage directions in this play are all on this page.

32 *Lord Guan Goes to the Feast*, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 14, 1b.

33 *Lord Guan Goes to the Feast*, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 14, 1b.

34 This change has also been highlighted in Wang Jilie's synopsis (*tiyao*) of this play, see Wang Jilie ed., *Guben Yuan Ming zaju* (Rare editions of *zaju* plays from the Yuan and Ming periods), vol.1, "Tiyao" (Summary), 1b. In this case, Zheng Qian, who focuses more on the arias, overlooked this change in the play and concluded that the Yuan and Ming editions of this play were not much different; see his "Yuan *zaju* yiben bijiao" (A comparison of the different editions of Yuan *zaju* plays) (1), 2.

35 Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 9.

36 *Lord Guan Goes to the Feast*, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 14, 25a.

37 Stephen West stated that the changes made in this play were subtle. The example that he quoted was the stage direction of Guan Yu entering the stage dressed as a god (*zunzi*), which was winnowed out of later texts. See his "Text and Ideology," 269. He did not highlight the fact that the *jia* Sun Quan has been removed from the play in the Ming edition, which is certainly one of the more obvious changes that were made. This may relate to his belief that only elements that were really offensive and unpleasing to the Ming emperors were removed. See p. 273.

38 For *Friends in Life and Death*, compare its Yuan edition in Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 319, and its Ming editions in Xijizi, ed., *Yuanren zaju xuan* (An anthology of *zaju* plays by the Yuan writers), coll. by Zhao Qimei with Yu Xiaogu, ed., in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 13, 1a, and Zang Jinshu, ed., *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu* (Collated and annotated anthology of Yuan plays), ed. Wang Xueqi, 2426.

39 Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 145–6.

40 Compare Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 145, and Zang Jinshu, ed., *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, 2426.

41 Zang Jinshu, ed., *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, 931–67.

42 A wedge is a shorter unit consisting of one or two songs which may be added to the usual four-act structure of a *zaju*. It could be placed at the beginning of a *zaju* before the first act as a prologue, or in between two acts as an interlude.

43 Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 211–4.

44 Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 220–1.

45 In another anonymous play in the Ming dynasty on the same subject with the title of *The Molizhi Flying Knives against Arrows* (*Molizhi feidao duijian*), we find that the entire scene with the shooting match has been removed, which may be seen as yet another way to remove the role of *jia* from the stage. See Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama," 779. For a detailed comparison of the Yuan edition and Ming editions of this play, see Idema, "The Remaking of an Unfilial Hero," 83–111; Yan Changke, "Yijin huanxiang de bianzou" (Changes in "Xue Rengui, Clad in Brocade, Returns to His Home Village"), 81–90; Deng Shaoji, "Yuan zaju *Xue Rengui yijin huanxiang* jiaodu ji" (An essay on the collation of the Yuan play "Xue Rengui, Clad in Brocade, Returns to His Home Village"), 84–103.

46 Yuan: Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 222. Ming: Zang Jinshu, ed., *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, 966.

47 Idema, "Traditional Dramatic Literature," 806.

48 Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 408.

49 *Zhuge Liang Burns the Encampment at Bowang* (palace edition), collected by Zhao Qimei, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 28, 1a.

50 *Zhuge Liang Burns the Encampment at Bowang*, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 28, 36b. For a comparison between the arias of the Yuan and the Ming edition, see also Komatsu, "Naifuhon-kei shohon kō," 139–41. A study of the *chuan'guan* also suggests that there is no change in Liu's costume throughout the entire play in the Ming edition. However, one may then wonder about the situation in the original performance of the Yuan edition, whether Liu puts on the costume for the *jia* right from the beginning, or only in the last scene when he is finally designated as *jia*.

51 Idema, "Traditional Dramatic Literature," 794.

52 Zang Jinshu, ed., *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, 3222–68.

53 See Idema, "The Founding of the Han Dynasty in Early Drama," 183–207, esp. 205.

54 Some scholars argue that certain characters, such as Li Shimin and Zhao Kuangyin, the founders of the Tang and Song dynasties, can only appear in plays that portray them before they became emperor but not after. See Yao Liyun, "Mingchu *zaju* de yanjin," 204. This explanation is unsatisfactory because while this may be true in one or two plays, it is certainly not a general rule applicable to all cases. For example, as I will discuss in the next section, the play *Wine-craving Zhao Yuan* actually features Zhao Kuangyin as Emperor Taizu of the Song dynasty.

[55] Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 66. Hu Ji points out that "*Shanghuang*" is an alternative name for Emperor Huizong; see his *Song Jin zaju kao* (A study of the *zaju* plays of the Song and Jin periods), 205. Emperor Huizong has been a popular subject in many *huaben* fiction and plays; see 204–6.

[56] Here, one may recall the Qing scholar Yao Xie's remark that in Yuan drama, the *jia* often styled himself by his posthumous title, a feature which he found amusing. See his *Jinyue kaozheng* (An inquiry into the current music), 210.

[57] *Wine-craving Zhao Yuan*, coll. by Zhao Qimei with Yu Xiaogu ed., in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 19, p. 11.

[58] *Wine-craving Zhao Yuan*, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 19, 14b-15a.

[59] Zheng Qian, "Yuan *zaju* yiben bijiao" (2), 91–2.

[60] *Guminjia zaju* (Plays of former famous playwrights), in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser.4, vol.11; Zang Jinshu, ed., *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, 1895–1927.

[61] Zheng Qian, "Yuan *zaju* yiben bijiao" (1), 24. For two examples of the songs which have been edited, see p. 26.

[62] For a general discussion of the play, including the source of the play in history and a summary of its plot, see Idema, "The *Tza-jiu* of Yang Tz," 533–7.

[63] West, "Text and Ideology," 268–9; Idema, "The *Tza-jiu* of Yang Tz," 536. For more examples of negative portrayals of the emperor on stage, see Yao Liyun, "Ming-chu *zaju* de yanjin," 204.

[64] West, "Text and Ideology," 267.

[65] Quoted in Wang Liqi comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, 5–6. There is a possibility that *Dongchuang shi fan* (The affair of the eastern window) (in *juan* 20744) may also refer to another play of a similar title, *Qin taishi dongchuang shi fan* (Counselor Qin's affair of the eastern window).

[66] Chao Li, *Chaoshi Baowentang shumu* (Catalog of the Baowentang library collection), 143–4. Texts of these and other Yuan plays may well have survived until the Qing in the private collections of Ming literati. For a general survey on the vernacular stories and drama listed in the catalogs of private libraries, including the *Baowentang shumu*, see Liu Yongqiang, "Ming Qing sijia shumu zhulu de tongsu xiaoshuo xiqu" (Popular fiction and drama recorded in the catalogs of Ming and Qing private libraries), 59–63. A number of Ming literati were known to have been great collectors of Yuan drama texts. For example, Li Kaixian (1502–68) claimed that he collected more than one thousand Yuan plays. See his preface to *Gaiding Yuanxian chuanqi*, in Bu Jian, ed., *Li Kaixian quanji* (Complete works of Li Kaixian), 1704. The only thirty Yuan editions of *zaju* we have today were originally kept in Li's collection too. Unfortunately, only these thirty Yuan editions in his huge collection have survived to the present day, which well summarize the common fate of the many other drama texts in private collections. As a result, what we know about the private collections of drama texts in the Ming dynasty is largely based on lists of titles in the catalogs rather than on actual texts, and our understanding is therefore still very limited.

[67] Fu Xihua, in his *Yuandai zaju quanmu* (A complete list of Yuan *zaju* plays), records a total of 737 *zaju*. See his "Liyan" (Introductory words), 3.

[68] In this study, I have adopted as my subject of study the *jiatou zaju* in the group of thirty Yuan edition plays. If we also include another play, *Wang Can Ascends the Tower* (*Zui sixiang Wang Can Denglou*), then there should be a total of fifteen plays in Yuan edition that stages an emperor. *Wang Can Ascends the Tower* is supposed to reflect a Yuan edition text kept by Li Kaixian and is only preserved through the collations of He Huang in *Guminjia zaju*, *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 21. This has later been separately included in Zheng Qian's *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 445–60.

In the case of *Wang Can Ascends the Tower*, the *jia* enters in Act Two of the Yuan edition. See Zheng Qian, ed. and coll., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 445. The emperor is easily removed in the Ming edition in a similar way as in *Lord Guan Goes to the Feast* or *Friends in Life and Death*. In the *Yuanqu xuan* edition, we are only informed in Cai Yong's dialogue that there is a discussion of Wang Can's matter in court earlier, which most probably refers to the scene that is at the very beginning of Act One of the Yuan edition. See Zang Jinshu, ed., *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, 2083.

[69] The *Huang Ming tiaofa shilei zuan* (A compendium of the regulations, statutes, and cases of the august Ming), for example, did not record any substatute or regulation that was used in the actual implementation of the earlier cited prohibition of *jiatou zaju* in the *Great Ming Code*. See Dai Jin, comp., *Huang Ming tiaofa shilei zuan*.

[70] Cases of the severest literary persecutions during the Ming allegedly occurred at the beginning of the dynasty under the Hongwu reign. See Ku Chieh-Kang, "A Study of Literary Persecution During The Ming," 255. (Editor's note: see chap. 1 in this volume.)

[71] Wixted, "Poetry of the Fourteenth Century," 397.

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2. Richard T. Wang, *Ming Studies in Japan 1961-1981: A Classified Bibliography*

3. Edward L. Farmer, Romeyn Taylor, and Ann Waltner, *Ming History: An Introductory Guide to Research*

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